

Message Text

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TO /SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8074

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 1256

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1286

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV OREP (SOLARZ, STEPHEN) RH TZ US UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CODEL SOLARZ DISCUSSION WITH NYERERE

SUMMARY: IN MARCH 24 MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ PRESIDENT
NYERERE AGAIN STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF GETTING ON WITH AAP TO KEEP
PRESSURE ON SMITH. NYERERE RESPONDED TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS WHICH
CODEL RAISED AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THESE EVOKED BY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT

NYERERE APPRECIATED THERE WERE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS WHICH HAD TO BE
ANSWERED. HIS REPLIES GAVE SOME NTW INSIGHTS INTO HIS
THINKING, PARTICULARLY HIS VIEW THAT SMITH COULD BE REMOVED BY TAKING
RHODESIA TO UN. END SUMMARY.

1. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND POL OFF,
CALLED ON PRESIDENT NYERERE MARCH 24. DURING LIVELY CONVERSATION,
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CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ SOUGHT NYERERE'S VIEWS ON QUESTIONS, INCLUDING:

- A. WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?
- B. WHAT IF A DEMONSTRABLY FAIR REFERENDUM SHOWS MAJORITY
IN RHODESIA PREFER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?
- C. WOULD TANZANIA SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT EVEN IF A MAJORITY
SUPPORTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?
- D. HOW CAN PF'S DESIRE FOR CONTROL DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

BE RECONCILED WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS (AAP)?

E. HOW CAN SMITH BE REMOVED BEFORE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN PROVED A FAILURE?

F. WHAT ABOUT CUBAN INVOLVEMENT?

G. IF THE APP WORKS, WHO WOULD WIN THE ELECTIONS?

H. WOULD THERE BE A ZANU - SAPU CIVIL WAR?

2. NYERERE'S VIEW OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. NYERERE SAID SMITH HAD NOT BEEN CONVERTED. HIS INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS INTENDED TO RELIEVE PRESSURES ON HIM TO MAKE A GENUINE TRANSFER FROM MINORITY TO MAJORITY RULE. SMITH HOPED PEOPLE WOULD "WAIT AND SEE," THEREBY DESTROYING MOMENTUM OF AAP. UNLESS PRESSURE KEPT UP, SMITH WOULD EVEN FIND A WAY AROUND HOLDING ELECTIONS. BUT EVEN WITH ELECTIONS, SMITH WOULD STILL HOLD POWER BECAUSE HE HAD THE ARMY. IF OBLIGED TO GO THE WHOLE ROUTE WITH THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, SMITH WOULD WRAP IT ALL UP WITH A SECOND UDI.

3. MAJORITY ACCEPTANCE OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. NYERERE'S VIEW WAS THAT NO FREE ELECTION OR REFERENDUM COULD BE HELD UNDER SMITH. THIS WAS WHY THE APP HAD TO BE IMPLEMENTED AND WHY THE UN HAD TO BE BROUGHT IN. "PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT SMITH TO HAVE ARMED FORCES. THE QUESTION IS, ON WHAT BASIS DO WE TRANSFER POWER? WHY NOT ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS ACCEPTABLE, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS?"

4. BACKING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. NYERERE AGAIN RULED OUT THE

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POSSIBILITY

THAT A MAJORITY WOULD BACK THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE PEOPLE WOULD BE DIVIDED AND THERE WOULD BE CIVIL WAR. THE APP COULD PREVENT THIS FROM HAPPENING.

BRINGING THE PF INTO THE AAP. NYERERE SAID THE KEY WAS IN DIVIDING POWER DURING THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. THE BRITISH WERE EXPERTS AT DECOLONIZATION. WHILE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD HAVE TO BE IN CHARGE DURING TRANSITION PERIOD, NKOMO ANBRVUGABE COULD NOT BE IGNORED IF THE WAR WAS TO END. THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. NO ONE WOULD SUPPORT NKOMO OR MUGABE IF THEY THOUGHT OTHERWISE. (EVEN FRELIMO, HE NOTED, ACCEPTED THIS ARRANGEMENT AFTER PORTUGAL HAD BEEN DEFEATED). BUT PF MUST BE REPRESENTED ON THE GOVERNING COUNCIL TO HELP WITH THE BUILDING OF A NEW ARMY. NYERERE HOPED THE PF WOULD ATTEND THE EASTER WEEKEND FRONTLINE SUMMIT. HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD BE EASIER TO DEAL WITH THAN IN THE PAST. "THEY NO LONGER NEED TO FEAR THE BISHOP."

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6. REMOVING SMITH. SMITH'S AGREEMENT WAS NEITHER NEEDED NOR DESIRED, NYERERE SAID. HE IS A FIGHTER BUT HE CAN BE FORCED OUT BY THE "ALLIED PRESSURES" APPLIED MILITARILY BY THE PF AND POLITICALLY BY INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE AAP. WE SHOULD NOW "MOVE IN" ON SMITH TOGETHER. RESPONDING TO QUESTION BY AMBASSADOR, NYERERE EXPLAINED THAT "MOVING IN" MEANT GOING TO THE UN AND GETTING A RESOLUTION. WHEN PRESSED AS TO HOW THIS COULD BE IMPLEMENTED, NYERERE SAID BY SETTING UP A UN FORCE AND ROLES FOR CHAND AND CARVER, WHO WOULD THEN GO TO RHODESIA. IT WAS "UNIMAGINEABLE" THAT THE RHODESIANS WOULD FIGHT BACK IF CARVER, CHAND AND UN TROOPS MOVED IN THE WITH UN BACKING.

7. CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. NYERERE SAID THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WOULD NOT ACCEPT A FOREIGN ROLE IN THEIR WAR OF LIBERATION AS LONG AS IT REMAINED A WAR OF LIBERATION. THE PF IS PROUD AND WANTS NO LAFAYEETES. SMITH WANTS OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT IF HE CAN'T SELL THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HE WILL EXPAND THE WAR BY ATTACKING NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. HE WILL TRY TO BRING SOUTH
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AFRICA IN. "IF SO WHO ARE WE TO ASK ZAMBIA AND THE
OTHERS NOT TO SEEK OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE?"

8. WINNING FAIR ELECTIONS. IN NYERERE'S VIEW THE PF WOULD WIN IF IT WORKED TOGETHER. MUZOREWA HAD BEEN A "/CARETAKER" WHILE ZANU AND ZAPU LEADERS WERE IN PRISON AND COULD NOT STAND UP TO ZANU'S AND ZAPU'S POLITICAL ROOTS. NKOMO AND MUZOREWA WOULD SPLIT THE URBAN VOTE, BUT THE PF WOULD DOMINATE THE RURAL AREAS.

9. ZANU - ZAPU CIVIL WAR. NYERERE SAID THERE WAS ALWAYS A RISK OF FUTURE TROUBLE. "I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO WORK AGAINST THAT." CHANCES OF ZANU-ZAPO CONFLICT WERE HARD TO ASSESS. CERTAINLY PF ALLIANCE WOULD NEED ALL THE HELP IT COULD GET AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

10. COMMENT. NYERERE EMPHASIZED POINTS HE HAD MADE TO VISITING AMERICANS IN LAST FEW DAYS: 1) IT IS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP PRESSURE ON SMITH THROUGH AAP. 2) DIFFERENCES WITH PF ON AAP ARE NOT GREAT AND PF CAN BE BROUGHT ALONG, AND 3) BRITISH MUST SPELL OUT THEIR "MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS." SOME NEWER GROUND WAS EXPLORED IN CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ'S MEETING, ESPECIALLY HOW NYERERE CONSIDERS SMITH CAN BE REMOVED. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ SOUGHT TO SHOW NYERERE KINDS OF TOUGH QUESTIONS BEING EVOKED IN US BY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. NYERERE APPEARED KEENLY AWARE THAT SUCH QUESTIONS REQUIRED FULL AND CAREFUL ANSWERS. END COMMENT.

11. THIS CABLE SEEN BY CODEL SOLARZ.
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